/44 cont./

562 The Berbère /Berber/ woman, without having in this region the independence that she has kept in central Morocco, nevertheless is not put under the strict tutelage and in the semiservitude that is observed among the Arabized tribes of the plain and is a consequence of complete Islamization. It is not rare to see appear in the history of the southern tribes some energetic mother who protects the goods of her orphan children and sometimes even secretly directs the politics of a canton.

565 IX. The social classes. -- This society, composed of distinct family groups among which the political constitutions try to make the principle of equality prevail, is nevertheless not at all democratic. On the contrary, it includes classes that can, according to the respect that they enjoy, be ordered hierarchically.

565 992 The most respected is that of the marabouts and shorfa /shurfa/. These personages are in principle the descendants of the saints, celebrated for their virtues or their learning, and those of the members of the Prophet's family. As a matter of fact, most of the families that can refer to Arab ancestors claim a sherifian origin, such as the Oulad ben Seba^{c}, who are only Ma^{c}qil, or again the Ilalen Berbères /Berbers/, whose name, transcribed in the Arabic /45/ form of "Hilala," gives rise to confusion with that of the "Banou Hilal" invaders.

The marabouts, who live grouped around the tomb of a known and respected ancestor, form small separate groups who govern themselves and most often remain removed from the political rivalries of the other Berbère /Berber/ "ikhs." Settled on the best lands, near springs and in the richest valleys, their number reaches, according to the region, one-fifth or one-tenth of the total population, and sometimes they constitute veritable small separate states within the tribes.

565 Then comes the "^{c}amma," which is the bulk of the autochthons, into which all the foreign elements melt little by little. It is divided into confederations, tribes, fractions, and subfractions, whose structure and political evolution we shall study further on.

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565 563 Below the common people are the haraten /Haratin/, particularly numerous, as we have seen, in the valleys of the Sous and especially of the Haut-Dra and the Dadès, as well as in the oases of the Noun and Bani. Of diverse origins, they are perhaps the result of the crossing of the ancient black populations of the Sahara and slaves from the Sudan, introduced in large numbers by the Berbère /Berber/ conquerors or bought by the sultans from the Arab slave traders. As a matter of fact, the Makhzen /makhzan/ has always been a great importer of blacks. They are also found in large numbers in the vicinity of the casbahs of kaids or near sherifian fortresses. In the Anti-Atlas they have mingled without difficulty with the tribes of the Igezzoulen (1),

1. "In spite of this political equality, in spite of this recognized common origin, the Chellaha regard themselves as superior to the Haratin and the latter feel inferior. They try to raise themselves by marrying light-colored women." "When marriage is spoken of, says the proverb, the Arab asks: Is she from a good family? the chleuh /Shluh/: Is she rich? the hartani /Haratin/: Is she white?" De Foucauld, Reconnaissance au Maroc /Reconnaissance in Morocco/, p. 88.

[538] [581]

still without being completely lost in the "ʿamma." In the Haut-Atlas /High Atlas/ the Masmouda have resisted more, but, in the years of want, one sees the haraten, mostly blacksmiths or craftsmen, marry daughters of notables. The minor sheiks of the high valleys almost all possess two or three black slaves, who marry in the country and whose children take their place little by little among the free men.

[463] [326] [567]

Jews form the most scorned class in Berbère /Berber/ country. They too, however, end up by in part entering the ranks /46/ of the "ʿamma." Doubtless there are still quite large mellahs

/46 cont./

565 /Moroccan ghettos/ -- Goulimin, Illigh, Taroudant, Amismiz,
563 Imi n Tanout -- with close relations with the large Jewish center that prospers in Mogador by monopolizing the commerce of the South. But the many traditions collected among the Haha, in
[197] the central and western Anti-Atlas, as well as the Haut-Dra among the Skourra and the Glawa, prove the ancient existence of many families of Jewish origin, converted to Islam for several centuries. At the time of Léon l'Africain /Leo Africanus/, one
[195] still saw several Israelite communities in the Sous taking part in the tribal wars in order to defend their lands and keep their religion (1).

[113] 1. Léon l'Africain, Description de l'Afrique /Description of Africa/, Scheffer edit., Vol. I, pp. 163-164.

565 One might think that they were the ones who remained of the old
563 Judaized Berbère /Berber/ tribes of the Far South, whom the con-
197 quest of the Igezzoulen must have forced to accept Islam. In the Anti-Atlas still in our day it is not rare to find families converted for less than a century, just as one is shown the locality of ancient villages and ruined agadirs /collective storehouses, sometimes serving as fortresses/ whose Jewish population was conquered, Islamized by force, and dispersed by the Mussulmans of the vicinity.

X. The economic life. -- We have stated the difficult con-
433 ditions under which human life develops in the Sous. Now, as in
241 the Anti-Atlas, the rains are too infrequent to fertilize the great expanses of the plateaus on which the Berbère /Berber/ plow can pass; again, as in the Deren, where water is more abundant, it is the earth that is lacking on the rocky flank of the mountains or in the narrow gorges of the torrents; elsewhere, on the plains, the springs and the séguias scarcely suffice to bring into being the small oases of the foot of the Dir or the thin string of gardens of the bottom of the large valleys.

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*631 174 171 acquisition -- so rapid, it is true -- of immense properties by the Berbère /Berber/ chiefs, on which they establish hundreds of slaves in a few years or preserve the former masters of the land who in appearance have become similar to serfs, can again suggest another comparison. Is this not the image of the domains of the Merovingian epoch upon which, by slow evolution, the lords of the upper Middle Ages could grow in importance? A replica of the very certificate of immunity can be found in the letters of fictive command awarded by certain chiefs, the Mtouggi, for example, to the companions who have served him faithfully, so that they can escape, with all the members of their family, from the common rules of justice or of taxes (1).

1. Cf. above, p. 451.

*631 *565 174 171 Finally, we observe here, as in the West, the development of an aristocratic class, if it is permissible to use this expression in speaking of the parvenu sons of the amghars, and the ruin of the lower classes is precipitated at the same time that public authority is weakened: those are, as has long been said, the general conditions for the appearance of a feudality (2).

[113]

2. Compare Fustel de Coulanges: Origines du système féodal /Origins of the Feudal System/, p. 294 and sqq., p. 415; L'alleu et le domaine rural /The Alodium and the Rural Domain/, pp. 374-382.

Nevertheless it would be imprudent to rest content with these similitudes:

*631 174 171 /360/ One barbarism always resembles another barbarism, said Doutté in describing the aspect of the South of Morocco, and it is not enough that "a chief live in a castle, have pages, and hunt with falcons," that peasants prostrate themselves upon his passing or that he administer justice on the threshold of his

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*631 648 The sultan sometimes intervenes, it is true, to restrict the misdeeds of his representatives. Moulay el Hasan tried, as has been seen, to balance the kaids' power by that of the jemaᶜa or oumana, a vain effort in a country where every chief has for centuries been the born enemy of an assembly. There also exists a sovereign's justice, rapid and decisive; absolute master of his subjects, the kaid is in turn without rights before the sultan; if the horsemen of the Makhzen /makhzan/ arrive in the casbah with the order to put him in irons, tomorrow he will be thrown into the Marrakech prison to be punished for the abuses that he has perpetrated. But all the possessions that he has seized during his command, all the money that he has buried in the courtyards of his house become the property of the Makhzen. If the chief dies in office and the command passes to another family, the sultan is also the heir of all the fortune acquired since his nomination. [662] Finally, each change of kaid is the occasion for the sultan's court to receive sizable gifts from all those who are soliciting the succession; the sums thus paid in advance will be reimbursed by the tribe to its new chief from the first /385/ day on. It is known how much this practice, exaggeratedly repeated in the reign of Moulay ᶜAbd el ᶜAziz, at the time of the great poverty of the sherifian treasury, contributed toward preparing the great explosion of anarchy in which Morocco lost its liberty.

• 565 181 Subject to this regime of oppression, the peasant suffers with an infinite patience. He carries out the orders received, pays the money demanded, performs the corvées, sells his harvests green, his almonds and olives in bloom, hands over his possessions, finally, ruined, leaves his hamlet. For long years he struggles against wretchedness. No more tribal festivities, no more collective dances on the "assais," the village plaza surrounded by walnut trees, where in former times great fires were lighted until dawn. Scarcely do the little children still send into space, while guarding a few goats, the short nostalgic phrase of the Berbère /Berber/ song. The only hope that remains is that of an imminent liberation when the "siba" will break out all at once, and the men remaining in the tribes live in that expectation, hiding a growing hatred in the depths of their hearts.